

Message Text

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PAGE 01 DAR ES 01245 01 OF 03 241545Z
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FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4459
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN
AMCONSUL DURBAN
AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

UNCLAS SKETION 1 OF 3 DAR ES SALAAM 1245

CAPE TOWN ALSO FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, SF, TZ
SUBJECT: INTERVIEW WITH CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI

REF: DAR ES SALAAM 996 (NOTAL), DAR ES SALAAM 979

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF INTERVIEW GIVEN TO TANZANIAN DAILY NEWS
BY KWA-ZULU CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI DURING HIS MARCH 7-8 VISIT
TO TANZANIA, WHICH WAS BELATEDLY PRINTED MARCH 24:

2. BEGIN TEXT:

Q:- WHEN YOU ARRIVED IN DAR ES SALAAM FROM A LECTURE TOUR OF THE
UNITED STATES, YOU APPEALED TO AFRICAN STATES TO EXTEND THEIR
SUPPORT TO THE AFRICAN PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA.
WHAT FORM OF SUPPORT? WOULD YOU LIKE TO BE SPECIFIC?

A:- MATERIAL SUPPORT. IN EDUCATION, FOR INSTANCE. WE
BELIEVE EDUCATION IS AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN
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PAGE 02 DAR ES 01245 01 OF 03 241545Z

SOUTH AFRICA. AFRICAN STATES COULD ACCEPT BLACK STUDENTS FROM
SOUTH AFRICA TO STUDY AT THEIR UNIVERSITIES.

Q:- BUT HOW CAN THEY DO IT? HOW CAN THE RACISTS IN SOUTH AFRICA
ALLOW THIS KIND OF PROGRAMME?

A:- WHY CAN'T WE JUST DO IT AND SEE IF THERE IS A PROBLEM?
SPECULATING LIKE THAT CAN BE AN EXCUSE FOR NOT DOING WNYTHING.
WE ARE OF COURSE VERY GRATEFUL TO AFRICAN STATES AND THE

ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY FOR CHAMPIONING THE BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE AT THE UNITED NATIONS AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL FORUMS. NOW, WE ARE ASKING AFRICAN STATES AND THE OAU TO DO SOMETHING PRACTICAL TO HELP THE BLACK PEOPLE WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA.

Q:- ARE YOU SUGGESTING THAT THE OAU BUDGET SHOULD INCLUDE AID FOR THE AFRICAN PEOPLE WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA?

A:- YES. THE OAU GIVES MATERIAL SUPPORT TO ANC (AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS) AND PAC (KIPAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS). ALL I AM ASKING IS THAT THE OAU SUPPORT BE EXTENDED TO THE BLACK PEOPLE WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA. IT SHOULD NOT BE CONFINED TO ANC AND PAC.

Q:- BUT WHO WILL THE OAU DEAL WITH INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA?

A:- THAT'S NOT A PROBLEM. I AM CHAIRMAN OF THE AMERICAN-SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATIONAL TRUST FUND SET UP IN CO-OPERATION WITH A NUMBER OF AMERICAN COMPANIES. THE FUND OFFERS SCHOLARSHIPS AT SECONDARY SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY LEVELS WITH AND OUTSIDE SOUTH AFRICA. THE OAU COULD HELP BOOST THE FUND. AFTER ALL, I AM PRESIDENT OF INKATHA - NATIONAL CULTURAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Q:- WHEN WAS INKATHA SET UP? WHAT HAVE YOU DONE SO FAR?

A:- INKATHA WAS BORN IN JULY LAST YEAR. IT'S JUST OVER 20 MONTHS OLD. WE HAVE SET UP A SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMME FROM OUR OWN FUNDS. ALREADY, WE ARE OFFERING SCHOLARSHIPS TO BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN CHILDREN TO STUDY AT THE THREE AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA - UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND AND UNIVERSITY OF FORT-HARE.

WE HAVE ALSO ESTABLISHED A MONTHLY NEWSPAPER CALLED "THE NATION" WE ARE NOT BEING ASSISTED BY ANYBODY. ALL THE MONEY COMES FROM OUR OWN FUND, FROM MEMBERS' SUBSCRIPTIONS. WE CONSIDER "THE NATION" UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 03 DAR ES 01245 01 OF 03 241545Z

A CRUCIAL PART OF THE STRUGGLE, ESPECIALLY IN SOUTH AFRICA WHERE ALL THE MASS MEDIA EITHER BELONG TO (SOUTH AFRICAN PREMIER) MR. JOHN VORSTER OR GENERAL SUPPORT GOVERNMENT POLICIES.

Q:- BUT IF INDEED INKATHA IS A LIBERATION MOVEMENT, MANY OF US OUT HERE FAIL TO UNDERSTAND HOW YOU CAN FEEL SO SAFE IN SOUTH AFRICA. BECAUSE HOW CAN YOU LEAD A LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND ESCAPE ARREST, DETENTION, SOMETHING LIKE THAT?

A:- I AM NOT SAFE. NO, I AM NOT SAFE AT ALL. LISTEN MY DEAR BROTHER, I AM AWARE OF ALL THE RISKS - DETENTION AND PERHAPS DEATH. BUT THESE ARE THE HAZARDS OF THE BATTLE FOR LIBERATION. ALREADY THERE HAS BEEN SOME INDICATION OF THE HOSTILE GOVERNMENT ATTITUDE TOWARD US.

THE GOVERNMENT BANNED OUR FIRST INKATHA BULLETIN LAST YEAR. ALL COPIES OF THE BULLETIN WERE SEIZED BY THE POLICE AT THE PRINTERS AND THE BAN WAS MADE OFFICIAL BY PROCLAMATION OF THE OF THE GOVERNMENT GAZETTE IN SEPTEMBER LAST YEAR. WE HAVE APPEALED TO THE APPEAL BOARD AGAINST THE BAN. BUT AS A RESULT OF THE APPEAL, THE PUBLICATIONS BOARD MADE A 17-PAGE SUBMISSION FIRMLY SUPPORTING THE BAN.

IN THE SUBMISSION, THEY ACUSE ME OF ADVOCATING COOPEATION WITH BANNED ORGANISATIONS SUCH AS ANC AND PAC,HHYYYY SAY THAT MY MOVEMENT IS USING THE COLOURS OF ANC. ALSO THEY MENTION THE FACT THAT WE BELIEVE IN AFRICAN DEMOCRACY THAT EXISTS IN ZAMBAI AND TANZANIA.

THIS IS ONE OF THE MAIN REASONS THE GOVERNMENT BANNED THE INKATHA BULLETIN. THE SUBMISSION QUOTES THE SPEECH OF THE PRIME MINISTER, MR. VORSTER, IN WHICH HE ATTACKED ME AND SAID: "WHO IS THIS ZULU WHO THINKS HE CAN PUSH US OUT OF AFRICA? GREATER MEN THAN HIMSELF TRIED TO PUSH US, BUT THEY FAILED". MY PASSPORT WAS TAKEN AWAY BY THE GOVERNMENT FOR NINE YEARS FROM 1863 TO 1971.

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PAGE 01 DAR ES 01245 02 OF 03 241605Z
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UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 3 DAR ES SALAAM 1245

CAPE TOWN ALSO FOR EMBHF:- FINE. YOU MAY NOT BE AS SAFE AS MANY OF US THOUGHT. BUT

AS CHIEF MINISTER OF KWA-ZULU HOMELAND (REGION), YOU MUST BE SERVING THE INTERESTS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. BUT YOU ARE NOW SAYING THAT YOU ARE A FREEDOM FIGHTER WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA. HOW DO YOU EXPLAIN THIS CONTRADICTION?

A:-WE ARE PART OF SOUTH AFRICA. I REGARD KWA-ZULU AS PART OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT FOR THE ZULU PEOPLE.

WE HAD LONG BEEN ADMINISTERING OUR OWN AFFAIRS EVEN BEFORE WE WERE CONQUERED BY THE BRITISH IN 1879. ZULU WAS A KINGDOM. WHEN THE ZULU WERE DEFEATED, MY OWN GREAT-GRANDFATHER, CHIEF MNYAMANA BUTHELEZI, WAS THE PRIME MINISTER OF WHAT WAS THEN A SOVEREIGN ZULU NATION. AND AT THE SAME TIME, MY GREAT-GRANDFATHER

ON MY MOTHER'S SIDE, KING GETSHWAYO, WAS KING OF THE ZULU.
SO I HAVE NOT ENTERED SERVICE FOR THE ZULU PEOPLE JUST BECAUSE
OF THE HOMELAND SYSTEM.

Q:- YOU HAVE A GREAT HISTORY. ISN'T IT THEN UNFORTUNATE THAT YOU
ARE NOW SERVING THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT?

A:- IT IS. HOWEVER, DON'T FORGET I AM A HEREDITARY CHIEF OF
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PAGE 02 DAR ES 01245 02 OF 03 241605Z

THE BUTHELEZI TRIBE. AND AS FAR AS THE FIVE MILLION ZULUS ARE
CONCERNED, I WAS PRIME MINISTER OF THE ZULU FOR 16 YEARS
UNTIL 1970 WHEN THE GOVERNMENT IMPOSED ITS HOMELAND SYSTEM ON
KWA-ZULU.

WE ONLY COMPLIED WITH THE SYSTEM BECAUSE THEY TOLD US THAT
WE HAD NO OPTION, NOT BECAUSE WE LIKED IT. WE DIDN'T. WE DON'T
LIKE IT BECAUSE THEY HAVE NO CHOICE.

AFTER ALL, THE GOVERNMENT DIDN'T WANT ME ELECTED CHIEF MINISTER
OF KWA-ZULU. AFTER THE GOVERNMENT IMPOSED ITS HOMELAND SYSTEM
IN 1970, THERE WERE "ELECTIONS" IN ALL THE HOMELANDS. IN KWA-ZULU
THE GOVERNMENT WANTED CHIEF CHARLES HLENGWA "ELECTED CHIEF
MINISTER. THE GOVERNMENT ASKED OTHER CHIEFS TO SUPPRT
CHIEF HLENGWA BECAUSE THE GOVERNMENT KNEW I WAS COMPLETELY
OPPOSED TO ITS SYSTEM OF HOMELANDS (OR BANTUSTANS).

IT WAS A VERY PAINFUL AND TORTUROUS DECISION FOR ME TO BOW
BEFORE THE WISHES OF MY PEOPLE, TO SAVE THEM, AFTER THEY
UNANIMOUSLY ELECTED ME CHIEF MINISTER OF KWA-ZULU.

Q:- HAVE YOU BEEN A MEMBER OF ANC OR PAC?

A:- YES, ANC. EVEN AS FAR AS TAKING UP MY POSITION AS HEREDITARY
CHIEF OF MY TRIBE IN 1953, I HAD TO CONSULT SENIOR OFFICIALS OF
ANC BECAUSE I WAS THEN A MEMBER OF THE ANC YOUTH LEAGUE. AND IT
WAS WALTER SISULU (A SENIOR MEMBER OF THE ANC LEADERSHIP) WHO IN
FACT SAID THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR THE STRUGGLE FOR ME TO ASSUME
MY POSITION AS CHIEF. INDEED, THE VERY FOUNDER OF ANC, DR. PEXLEY
KI-I-SEME WAS MARRIED TO MY MOTHER'S SISTER. THAT'S MY
BACKGROUND. HOW CAN I BE A TRAITOR, REALLY?

Q:- I KNOW THAT YOU HAVE STRONGLY DENOUNCED VORSTER'S PROGRAMME
TO "GRANT INDEPENDENCE" TO THE HOMELANDS. WHAT DO YOU INTEND
TO DO WHEN THE TIME COMES FOR KWA-ZULU'S "INDEPENDENCE"?

A:- I DON'T UNDERSTAND THAT. MATANZIMA ASKED FOR TRANSKEI'S
"INDEPENDENCE" AND HE GOT IT LAST OCTOBER. YOU HAVE TO ASK FOR
INDEPENDENCE.

Q:- YES, BUT SUPPOSE IT WERE INPOSED ON YOU? AFTER ALL,
THE GOVERNMENT IMPOSED ITS HOMELAND SYSTEM ON KWA-ZULU IN 1970.

A:- I WILL HAVE TO LEAVE MY POSITION IF THAT HAPPENED. I AM NOT
PREPARED TO BE USED AS AN INSTRUMENT IN THE BALKANIZATION OF OUR
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PAGE 03 DAR ES 01245 02 OF 03 241605Z

PEOPLE. I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT INKATHA HAS NO SCRUPLES ABOUT ENTERING THE POLITICAL SYSTEM WHICH PRETORIA HAS DICTATED. INKATHA IS THE ONLY BLACK ORGANISATION THE PEOPLE OF KWA"-ZULU CAN RELY ON TO THWART THE SOUTH AFRICA GOVERNMENT'S MANOEUVRES IN MANIPULATING FIVE MILLION PEOPLE INTO ACCEPTING THE FARCICAL INDEPENDENCE WHICH TRANSKEI HAS ACCEPTED.

INKATHA'S COOMITMENT TO FIGHT APARTHEID LEADS IT TO THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE OF NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE AND THE FURTHBERING OF THE IDEALS OF ALL BLACKS

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PAGE 01 DAR ES 01245 03 OF 03 241606Z

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UNCLAS SECTION 3 OF 3 DAR ES SALAAM 1245

CAPE TOWN ALSO FOR EMBASSY

INKATHA IS HEAVILY INVOLVED IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BLACK UNITY FRONT - AN UMBRELLA ORGANISATION OF ALL SOUTH AFRICAN MOVEMENTS SO THAT WE CAN HAVE A COMMON STRATEGY.

Q:- WHAT DO YOU THINK HAS BEEN THE EFFECT OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE ON THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA?

A:- THEIR UHURU HAS HEIGHTENED THE POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE BLACK OPEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA. FOR THE FIRST TIME, THE BLACK PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA SEE JUST ACROSS THEIR BORDER BLACK BROTHERS WHO HAVE ACHIEVED INDEPENDENCE THROUGH ARMED STRUGGLE. SO, FOR THE FIRST TIME, ARMED STRUGGLE IS SEEN BY THE BLACK PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA AS A VIABLE METHOD OF ACHIEVING LIBERATION. THIS HAS HAD A VERY SIGNIFICANT IMPACT ON THE BLACK PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Q:- MANY SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONALISTS I HAVE MET HERE BELIEVE THAT, GIVEN THE RUGHLESSNESS OF VORSTER, ARMED STRUGGLE IS THE ONLY PATH TOWARDS LIBERATION IN SOUTH AFRICA. WHAT DO YOU THINK?

A:- THERE IS CONSIDERABLE DISAGREEMENT AMONG SOUTH AFRICAN
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PAGE 02 DAR ES 01245 03 OF 03 241606Z

NATIONALISTS AS TO WHAT OUGHT TO BE DONE TO DESTROY APARTHEID AND HOW IT SHOULD BE DONE. THESE DISAGREEMENTS ARE SOMETIMES BASED ON IDEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND SOMETIMES ON PERSONALITY CONFLICTS AND, I AM SORRY TO SAY, SOMETIMES ON PERSONAL AMBITIONS AND POWER STRUGGLES AMONG THOSE WHO WANT TO CONTROL THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION.

GRAVE DIFFICULTY IS PRESENTED BY THE FACT THAT IDEOLOGICAL PURITANS ARE COMMITTTED TO A SINGLE STRATEGY THAT IS UPHELD AS THE ONLY THING FOR ALL MEN TO DO. THESE PEOPLE ARE WRONG. THERE IS NO SINGLE ROAD TO LIBERATION.

WHETHER WE LIKE IT OR NOT, WE HAVE TO ACCEPT THE HARD FACT THAT THERE ARE MANY STRATEGIES BEING EMPLOYED IN SOUTH AFRICA BY THOSE WHO STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION. EACH PERSON AND EACH ORGANISATION MUST NECESSARILY START FROM WHERE HE, SHE OR THEY STAND. BLACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA ARE CONSTRAINED TO RESIST APARTHEID WHERE THEY CAN AND WITH WHAT MEANS THERE ARE AT THEIR DISPOSAL.

THIS MEANS THAT BEFORE INKATHA CAN TALK ABOUT ARMED STRUGGLE, WE HAVE TO CONSIDER WHERE WE STAND. END TEXT.
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